/332 cont./ Permanent
villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques. The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco. The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures, given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the number of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapiti and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Igüembé (1).

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping. Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

/158 cont./

000 361 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi, [114] [621] where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

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2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique.

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Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631] [643]

1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] [273] At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

/161 cont./

273 824 191

and the Mataco; thus the fruit of the chañar, mistol, and algarroba are used in the manufacture of chicha.

Subalterns

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The cacique of a tribe is not alone in political, judicial, and administrative administration. In order to have a more correct administration, he, as sole and supreme authority, selects counselors and assistants, whom he seeks from among the most competent persons of the tribe. The primary advisors are whatever sorcerers there may be; these men are thus feared and hence respected by the people, who make use of them in sickness and calamity, both public and private.

621 624 554

Next in rank as counselors come other men to whom they give the name Igũira iya, owner of the stick or baton, according to the signification of the word and which corresponds in Spanish to hombre de mando ó autoridad /man in command or authority/. Thus they are the alcaldes, to whom the cacique hands over part of his authority with absolute subordination, so that through complaints, ineptitude, or other causes, the alcaldes are summarily dismissed and then others appointed. In each tribe there is a single alcalde who does everything, because the cacique, in his town, is better than an emperor, not having to lift a straw and spending his time in prolonged idleness.

/162/ The alcaldes in the tribes take charge of the rest of the settlers; in a search for peons they hear the sarcasms and recriminations of their fellows, and many times they definitely disobey them, even going so far as to insult them with: Mburubicha pa nde? Perhaps you are a cacique?" (1)

1. In the missions with many tribes there are as many caciques and alcaldes as there are tribes composing them. In this regard the custom of the Indians has been respected for a better and more honest administration.

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

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The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house [574] with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

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Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses, most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large and in each one there are up to three families, but close relatives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns of the whites. [342] These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necessary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

[354]

1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

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the second Chiriguano man and the second Chiriguano woman: I have even made use of this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

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/The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

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It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families. They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things: instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

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There does not seem to be any other race like the Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

[799]
[861]

1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

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Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and

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Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

/277 cont./

Combat and Pillaging

726 Finally, the infantrymen get in the center, the horsemen on both sides, and the queremba in front, because they must always be the first to be wounded. Matters thus arranged, facing /278/ [704] the enemy, still in bed, the invading army moves forward at a trot, and when it has come as far as some 100 meters from the town, the infantrymen and horsemen set out at full speed, they pound the horns, porongos, senene, and igũiramimbi, all the soldiers raise an infernal shout and sow confusion in the little town. The inhabitants, losing no time, take up arms and come out to fight with courage. The women, children, and dogs add to the confusion and run in terror to hide if they can. Mean- 726 while the combat is terrible and bloody on every side, the in- 929 vaders fight with tenacity for victory, and those invaded, for their own defense, for that of their wives, children, and property. They fall, some run through by an arrow, others opened by a lance, those seriously wounded and dragged by their long hair, these trampled by the horses of the cavalrymen, who charge the unfortunate ones without pity or mercy (1).

• [621] 1. Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of 40 or 50 families, and therefore the combat could not last for many hours, since those invaded were in addition taken by surprise.

In a few minutes the little plaza and the streets are full of dead and wounded. Some of the cavalrymen detain the fleeing children and women and prevent the flight of the defenders, who--a few of them--have been trying to give up the unequal fight. The fight is over before the sun appears. If the number of defenders is quite low, the invading cacique stops the battle and orders the killing of the few survivors, without concerning himself with those who have already fled.

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenhia. 1/6.

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has lain fallow for years.

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place. [563] [797] Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

131 174 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

361 177 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata y Chile /A Brief Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano

361 342 62 [113]

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

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162 The town Ibitibi in the southern part of Chiriguano territory, south of the Pilcomayo River, examined minutely by Eric v. Rosen, was inhabited, according to the Indians, by about 300 persons. The town was located on a plain surrounded by mountains and forests. The houses formed a large circumference, the cacique's house being in the middle. Some shade trees had been planted in the open plaza between the cacique's house and the other houses. In other Chiriguano towns visited by v. Rosen, houses were dispersed without any order. According to the observations of v. Nordenskiöld too, Chiriguano towns are sometimes quite large and inhabited by around 100 persons. Often several towns are near one another. The houses are generally around a plaza sometimes planted with trees and serving as a place to play and to hold meetings.

342 We know the form of the Chiriguano houses in detail through v. Rosen (63), and primarily through the good photo-

63. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 191: Figs. 188-192 and 217.

[335] graphs of such houses. The houses are rectangular and their roofs end in points. Walls and roofs are held up by posts. The walls consist either of only vertical poles made from branches or reeds, close together and tied by horizontal ligatures, or of interwoven poles whose interstices are plastered with mud. The roof (opitiá) is covered with straw. One type of house was illustrated in a photograph by v. Rosen (64), on which one

64. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 190.

[171] side of the roof projects at the top over the other side of the roof. The same house type also exists in the ancient culture of the Peruvians, as is shown by sketches found on the surface of ancient Peruvian vessels.